

PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 59

London: July 31, 1937

2d.

War Resisters Show the World The Way to Peace

THESE are days of trial of our faith. When days are bright because war clouds have disappeared it will be easy for any of us to champion 'Good will and Peace.'

"It is now, when the clouds are coming down so low as to appear to overwhelm us, it is now that we must make our voices heard and renew with a thousand-fold strength our vows and our determination to struggle on till war shall cease."

These words of George Lansbury at the opening session of the conference of the War Resisters' International, held in Copenhagen last week-end, struck the note which ran through all the deliberations of the conference.

WORK IN MANY LANDS

From Our Correspondents

THE conference, at which war resisters from 21 countries were present, opened on Friday last with speeches by Lord Ponsonby and George Lansbury at the Danish Houses of Parliament (reported on page two).

On Saturday a report was given by Grace Beaton, Secretary of the W.R.I., who stated that the International now had members in 68 different countries.

Among the activities of the past three years the secretary mentioned that 5,000 leaflets entitled *How to Resist War* had been

"ABOLISH FORCE"

DURING the course of the conference an emergency resolution was sent to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations calling for revision of the Covenant to exclude any obligation on the part of member-States to apply "sanctions."

"By thus abolishing force as the basis of international authority," added the resolution, "the cooperative efforts of the nations in the direction of conciliation and appeasement will effectually build up a representative body for the expression of the desire of the peoples of the world for the abolition of war."

distributed in Italy during the invasion of Abyssinia.

Professor José Brocca, of the Spanish section, reported on the relief work being carried out by the W.R.I. in that country, and gave it as his opinion that Franco could not win in the long run.

An interesting item in the programme was an address by Marcel Pichon, delegate from the Ligue Internationale Scolaire Pour la Paix. He reported that there were now 4,000 active members of this organization, all under twenty, in France alone, and that M. Delbos, French Foreign Minister, had received a deputation from the L.I.S.P.

WORLD CONFERENCE

On Sunday a discussion on "A World Conference" was opened by George Lansbury and Olaf Kullmann of Norway.

Mr. Lansbury said that he felt that Great Britain and the U.S.A. had special responsibility for trying to remove the causes of possible war.

Governments today controlled cartels and monopolies which enabled men to make money by limiting or increasing production at will—why should they not together plan for mutual service instead of for economic war? They could not maintain supremacy at the cost of other people's necessities, and what mattered was not so much the question of who governed a particular territory as that all nations should have access to world resources and that such raw material should be freely exchanged in manufactured goods.

The problem of production had been settled. The problem of distribution remained, and that would only be settled through a new conception of life based on the view that they were there not to dominate but to share.

Olaf Kullmann, formerly a commander in the Norwegian Navy, suggested that the task of members of the conference was to go to their own homes and convince their own people of the need of bringing fellowship between all peoples. It was very necessary for working-class people in each country to get into touch with working-class people elsewhere, especially in dictator-States.

"DICK" SHEPPARD ON

"Hesitation" in Church's Attitude to War

To the Editor of PEACE NEWS

THE report of Section 5 of the Conference on Church, Community, and State declares that "war is a particular demonstration of the power of sin in this world and a defiance of the righteousness of God as revealed in Jesus Christ and Him crucified."

All Christians who hate war will rejoice in that declaration and will give thanks for the labours of Charles Raven and Richard Roberts in the work of that commission.

But the failure of the report to go forward to the uncompromising separation of the Christian Church from any and every war will sadden all those who believe that the day of half measures and hesitating compromise is past.

With full recognition of the earnestness of the Commission it must be said frankly that no document which will seem to the plain man subtle, timid, and inglorious can save the Church's opportunity in this desperate time.

Because of what this report reveals of the Church's hesitation to renounce uncompromisingly the sin of war which it verbally denounces there is all the more need for the protest of those who feel they must

go the whole length of the road on which the report started.

I do not think the mind of Christ on this subject is obscure, and I would maintain that to compromise here is the final disloyalty and an act of apostasy. May I be allowed to protest at the colourless ultimate paragraphs in which the conference hides the fact that, in this issue of peace and war, it is not proposing to demand that the churches should take their Lord and His redemptive plan seriously.

Today any church that is merely timid and polite is bound to be omitted from the consideration of earnest people. She will never die at the hands of opponents, but she will be in grave danger of suicide when her judgments provoke the moral indignation or the ridicule of enlightened men and women.

I think this report on Church and war, as a whole, will cause men to say that the churches do not mean business and have no courage for the Christian fray. I fear they will be justified in so saying.

H. R. L. SHEPPARD.

(Summary of report appears in col. 1, page 5)

ARMS & THE LABOUR PARTY

EVEN though it uses the terms "peace leagues and cells and ballot-signatories" derogatorily, the following leading article from the *Daily Mirror* of last Friday clearly means them to include "all those who are working for peace"—for whom it recognizes the only hope now to be pacifism!

WE cannot truthfully assert that the Parliamentary Labour Party has returned to its senses, since it has (apparently) never had any—at any rate in regard to the related questions of war and armaments.

But a fairly sensible fellow, Mr. Hugh Dalton, chairman of this war-without-armaments party, has succeeded in persuading the rest of them, by a very narrow majority, that they had better not

vote against the Defence Estimates, while at the same moment clamouring for war against the dictators all over Europe.

So there'll be no obstructive voting.

We now see again that the former more-or-less pacifist party is no longer pacifist. Peace leagues and cells and ballot-signatories, you must stick to Mr. Lansbury, Canon Sheppard, and Mr. Aldous Huxley. There's no other hope for you.

Now read OUR leading article (on page 6) about the Labour Party's betrayal of peace.

CHRISTIAN PACIFISTS PLAN POLITICAL ACTION

MEMBERS from many parts of the country met at Queen's Road Baptist Church, Coventry, on Saturday, for the first conference of the Christian Pacifist Party, held under the leadership of the chairman, the Rev. H. Ingli James.

Mr. James opened the conference, stressing his belief that true pacifism

must be ineffectual without political expression. Therefore, their aim must be to ensure that Great Britain should pursue a pacifist policy. But how could this be achieved under the government of any existing party? Even the Labour Party had completely abandoned the small measure of pacifism which, till lately, had differentiated it from other parties.

It was therefore essential, in the interests of peace, that a pacifist political instrument should be created to aim at the application of a pacifist philosophy to international affairs, and to deal with the urgent problems of communal life in an entirely new way.

They were assured, Mr. James said, that there was a large body of opinion in favour of pacifist political action, and the members of the original Coventry branch, having issued a draft constitution, felt that little more could be done by an isolated unit, and had called the conference.

REASON FOR TITLE

Mr. W. L. Williams (Coventry) went through the constitution, giving reasons for the inclusion of each item. Referring to the title in particular, Mr. Williams said they were aware of a feeling in the party that the words "Christian" and "Pacifist" were redundant. But, he pointed out, in omitting the latter word on the ground of redundancy they were questioning the sincerity of their non-pacifist friends.

The Rev. T. R. King (Swansea), suggested two separate pamphlets, a manifesto and a constitution, the former containing a basis for the Party, stressing the religious grounds for their beliefs and actions. This branch also advocated two grades of

(Continued in col. 1, page 2)

Future of "Non-Intervention" in Spain

Christian Pacifist Party

(concluded from page 1)

membership, full and associate, but the general feeling of the conference was that it would weaken the Party's case.

Other subjects discussed at the afternoon session included the Party's attitude in elections, where pacifists are at present virtually disfranchised, proportional representation, and the possibility of a working agreement with the Independent Labour Party.

Mr. Williams expressed the opinion that the Labour Party and the I.L.P. were more likely to be roused to pacifism by a challenge from a new party such as this than by propaganda from within.

At the evening session reports were given on the prospects in various districts.

Mr. G. Turner (London) reported that groups of the Fellowship of Reconciliation were holding special meetings to decide the attitude their members should take up to the party's amendment to be put to Resolution 4 at the London Pacifist Convention.

The conference felt that each branch should decide methods for getting recruits in its own district. Members of Peace Pledge Union groups, cooperative guilds, and vegetarian societies were suggested as people who would welcome discussion.

It was decided to form an interim committee to reconsider the Coventry Draft Constitution and future activities in the light of the discussions, preparatory to calling a further conference in November.

Mr. James said that to achieve its aim, the C.P.P. must begin from below and remain a people's movement, depending on the faith that individuals have in each other.

Lord Halifax's Broadcast: Rev. Pat McCormick's Statement

A STATEMENT about Lord Halifax's recent broadcast talk from St. Martin-in-the-Fields (discussed by Lord Ponsonby in last week's PEACE NEWS) was made by the Rev. Pat McCormick (Vicar of St. Martin's) in a letter to *The Times* last week.

Letters of abuse and criticism, he said, accused him of allowing St. Martin's pulpit to be used for Government propaganda or for the glorification of war. His letter continued:

I asked Lord Halifax, not as a member of the Government, but as a well-known Christian layman, to speak at our Peace Service, because I know he could express the views of the great majority of Christian people of all denominations and all parties, and would do more to rouse people to pray and work for peace than I, as a parson, could. I read his address before it was given, and felt that it expressed these views and my own as well. . . .

THE SOLUTION OF THE WORLD PROBLEM

Only Christians, but not Lip-Christians, can get Peace. Only fools will want to break their heads against the Divine Will. Only scientific and not blind methods can solve the problem. You cannot fool men all the time: sooner or later they will find out that the Reactionaries have been fooling them who won't like you becoming clever lest their trade should go. If you doubt it read the book and convince yourself. Price 5s. net.

Through booksellers or 3s. 9d. if obtained direct from the GROSSENER PRESS, Christmas Street, Bristol

WHILE the insurgent forces are launching the heaviest attack yet on Madrid, the fate of "non-intervention" is still hanging in the balance.

The Non-Intervention Sub-Committee decided on Monday to ask the governments concerned for their views on the proposals in the British compromise plan before the sub-committee meeting fixed for yesterday. The original difficulty in procedure has thus been overcome, but when the committee recommences its discussion

P.P.U. Aid for Spain

THE appeal by Thelma Niklaus for support for the Spanish relief work of the Peace Pledge Union and War Resisters' International, published in last week's PEACE NEWS, was mistakenly described as "On behalf of the Basque Fund."

It should be made quite clear that subscriptions toward the relief work in Spain should be sent to the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, marked "Spanish Relief Fund."

of what action the governments shall take another deadlock seems only too likely.

SUGGESTED TRUCE

Meanwhile, Fredrik Norman, author of the peace plan outlined in last week's PEACE NEWS, has drawn up suggested truce conditions, which include:

Cessation of all war activities; Disarmament of all Spaniards, who must deliver their arms to an international authority against a formal promise of commercial reciprocity treaties with all European nations; Formation of a temporary Spanish Government consisting of three members; one to represent Valencia, one to represent Salamanca, and one to represent the Non-intervention Committee States;

At least temporary control of exports and imports to enable the temporary Government to raise immediately the living standard of all Spaniards.

St. Martin's has always worked for peace, and had many notable services in the cause of peace, so much so that a leading pacifist minister and friend, after one of my broadcast talks, wrote and said I ought to join them; but St. Martin's as a church or parish has never stood for the full pacifist position either in my predecessor's or my time, and Dr. Sheppard has never preached pacifism here, because he knew this.

I can easily understand that my pacifist friends, whom I respect more than I can say for the stand they are consistently making, are disappointed with the position I have taken up; but they also must realize that those who cannot go the whole way with them are just as conscientious in holding the views they do.

While admitting that St. Martin's had never stood for the full pacifist position, Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, in a letter published on Monday, declared that "the congregation often listened patiently, if not with approval, to the full gospel of pacifism in my time."

Dr. Sheppard also explained why he had never ventilated "views which are highly controversial without being asked to do so" while the Rev. Pat McCormick has been vicar, and added, "it would be better to shut the churches than to preach only what the people are prepared to receive."

War Resisters' Conference

MR. LANSBURY AND LORD PONSONBY BROADCAST

FOLLOWING are extracts from the speeches by George Lansbury and Lord Ponsonby on the opening day of the War Resisters' International Conference at Copenhagen last week. These addresses were broadcast in Denmark.

George Lansbury

WE belong to many nations, and it may truly be said of us that "We come from many lands, we mix from very far, our hearts and lips and hands, our staves and weapons are, freedom's good gifts we bring you, whence all good things are."

Some of us are Christian pacifists, others are opposed to war for various reasons; we are all absolutely united in declaring our faith that war of any kind between human beings is a ghastly futility.

In many departments of human affairs, both national and international, relationships seem to improve.

When we consider all that is being done just now by the Russian scientists and aviators to conquer

world so organize our relationships with each other as to remove fear and consequent war from our lives?"

Talks about disarmament and collective "security" through massed armaments have gone on far too long. We must compel our rulers to organize collective justice between nations, a collective justice founded on the right of all peoples to a full access to the bounties of nature.

Finally, I wish to send this word of good cheer to my comrades of other lands. We who are working hard to bring about understanding between governments, so that war shall be treated as a disease and its causes removed, will not forget you who live in countries which do not enjoy such freedom as some of us, in peace time at least, are privileged to possess.

Everywhere, however, there is some form of conscription, legal or economic. I desire to say to you who suffer from either form of compulsion, our thoughts and prayers are with you, and as the days pass we would like you to know we share at least in thought your trials and difficulties. To those whose courage sometimes fails them, and fails them so much that they are constrained to give up the struggle and go into retreat, no words of blame will come from us who are more happily placed.

I do, however, urge friends everywhere to lift up hearts and minds. I cannot believe that all that has been done and suffered in the past has been in vain. It is impossible for me to believe that the latent good will in the worst as well as the best of us is going quietly and without effort to allow this world to fall back into sheer barbarism.

Most of all, comrades, never forget the cause we live and work for is one which, when we are victorious, will leave behind no ruined towns or mutilated women and children. Instead, as we go forward to success, we will leave behind us happy, joyous people, freed from the curse of strife and of man-made evil.

Lord Ponsonby

I WOULD extend greetings to the representatives we have here of 21 nations. Our meetings and consultations together can do nothing but good.

I am sure you will allow me to pick out for special greeting and congratulation our Spanish comrades. While their country is still torn by a terrible and cruel fratricidal conflict they have, with remarkable courage and without betraying the convictions they hold in common with us, devoted their energies to alleviating the suffering of the civil population and saving more especially the children, as far as they possibly can, from the miseries and torture which civil war involves. They give us a fine example of how war resisters should behave in face of a hideous and uncontrollable outbreak of violence.

The War Resisters' International is, as you know, also carrying out to the best of its ability relief work in Spain, without neglecting our main work, and without forgetting those, nearly 500 in number, who are being punished and imprisoned in Europe for their resistance to military service. In some cases we

(Concluded on page 3)

LORD PONSONBY'S
"Reflections and Comments"
WILL APPEAR AS USUAL
NEXT WEEK

space by opening a route across the top of the world over mountains of snow and ice, is it not strange that the same generation in all lands should be found using intelligence and knowledge almost entirely for the purposes of destruction?

As we look out on Europe, America, Asia, and Australia we are gratified to see how much international cooperation has been established; our joy is, however, almost destroyed when we realize that everywhere alongside this good will and cooperation there is a sinister force which, unless speedily checked, will destroy every vestige of civilization.

We must make no mistake when passing judgment on this state of affairs; no one set of people is responsible for it. All have sinned, and most great Powers are creating without shame an ever-increasing volume of deadly machinery for the purpose of maintaining dominant imperialism.

I do not argue who is to blame, we must each one use his own intelligence. If we do this we shall find that, as the world is at present divided, governments feel themselves compelled to resort to armaments of such a character as will, if used, bring about a complete collapse of civilization.

Because of modern methods of transport and communication, there are now open for the use of mankind unoccupied territories, natural resources and undeveloped markets more than sufficient for the use of all. The very abundance of our means to a full life is treated by many rulers and economists as something dangerous and uncontrollable.

WAR RESISTERS' AIM

We war resisters are endeavouring, with some success, to rally the nations to a realization of the fact that it is the duty of the common people like ourselves to make our voices heard in a demand that, before it is too late, those who rule us shall meet together and turn their thoughts to the one important over-riding question of our time—"How can we who are governing the

Indians Must Not Read These Books

—DESPITE "DEMOCRACY"

BANS just placed on the entry of certain books into India provide an apt comment on the "democratic" nature of the new Constitution, and justify once more the Congress Party's claim that the essential position of the British in India remains unchanged.

The banning of "left" books is no novelty in that country, but one of the latest to suffer, *The White Sahibs of India*, by Reginald Reynolds (reviewed in PEACE NEWS a fortnight ago) is recommended in a foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru, leader of India's largest political party.

In the case of another book from the same publishers, *World Revolution, 1917-1936*, by C. L. R. James, which has also been banned, the **Government of India is at one with communists in Britain, who are boycotting the same book for its attack (from the "Trotskyist" angle) on the Soviet Union!**

YOUTH RALLY FOR PEACE

On Saturday, August 14, and Sunday, August 15, there is to be a great peace demonstration and rally in Paris in connexion with the World Youth Camp at Bierville.

The rally and demonstration will round up the work of the World Youth Congress Movement which has been in progress during the past year, and the stadium where it is to take place is somewhat bigger than Wembley.

The cost of the week-end, including accommodation and meals in Paris, will be £2 13s. Registrations for the week-end should be sent as soon as possible to the Camp Secretary, British Youth Peace Assembly, 15a Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

LORD PONSONBY'S Broadcast (continued)

have been able to secure the release of such victims, or to give them help and encouragement.

I am afraid I have forgotten the little Danish I ever knew, although I can still read it. One short sentence, however, has remained in my memory: *Det er ikke sand*—"it is not true," a very useful phrase, and one that if you will allow me I will apply to some of the considerations which I will bring before you today.

Det er ikke sand—it is not true that armaments mean security.

The first nation which disarms and refuses to participate in any international conflict will find that it has thereby obtained complete security.

But more than that, it will have sent out a message to the nations of the world so well founded both in morality and common sense, and so completely in accord with the wishes of the common people all the world over, that it is bound to have widespread influence in checking the possible destruction of modern civilization, with which the piling up of armaments we see today constantly threatens us.

Det er ikke sand—it is not true that you can defend your people from the terrible destruction and ravages of modern warfare. It cannot be done, even if you have a superiority over the enemy in numbers and equipment. But if a nation is unarmed, then I maintain that low as international morality may be there is no government which would attack a completely unarmed nation.

Det er ikke sand—it is not true that you can crush fascism, communism, or any other creed by force of arms—any more than it was possible for the Allied and Associated Powers to crush German militarism in the War twenty years ago. **Ideas, if they are wrong,**

A LESSON FROM SPAIN

Teachers of the World Can Help to Stop War

From Our Special Correspondent

CASTELLON-DE-LA-PLANA.

MY recent appeal for a pacifist school for children receives unexpected and unconscious support in a local paper, in which the writer of a leading article reproaches former Spanish governments with turning their schools into prisons and centres of fanatical propaganda.

He reminds his readers that the famous Janissaries, who practically exterminated the Christians in Turkey, were themselves the sons of those Christians, torn from their families in early youth and trained to arms. He goes on to quote Marshal MacMahon's immortal phrase that it was the Prussian schoolmasters who defeated the French in 1870.

And then he himself coins an epigram—"Battles are won by soldiers, wars by education."

What an argument for the pacifist! A moment's reflection shows in very truth that, had the last three generations of Europe's schoolmasters been even a little more enlightened, the wars of 1863, 1866, 1870 and, hence, 1914, would never have been fought, and Spain herself would not now be staging the first act of another Grand Guignol.

All honour to the successors of these misguided ones who are playing such a distinguished rôle in the struggle for emancipation from the mailed fist. **It is a significant fact that, of the few genuine, whole-hearted pacifists I have met in Spain, all but one have been members of the teaching profession.**

Yet a word of warning here may not be out of place. Was it not a great Spaniard who maintained that the teaching received by a child during his first seven years should influence him throughout life?

There are probably few of us today who would accept that statement without qualification, even while agreeing with Lowell in "prizing more than Plato" things he learned "at that great academy, a mother's knee." Yet it would seem that undue stress is often laid upon the paramount importance of early education.

In this case it is not enough to wean the infant from the glamour of the tin sword and trumpet. The teaching of true pacifism is just as vital in the university and the club, the house of representatives, and the church, as it is in the elementary school and the home. And will be—until the lesson has come to be regarded as the A.B.C. of life.

GERMANY

WAR RESISTERS "FACE THE TERROR"

"I AM convinced that many refusals have happened since the existence of the compulsory military service, of which cases nobody ever knew," writes a German war resister, now living outside Germany, in a letter quoted in the summer number of *The War Resister*.

"One can easily understand that this state of affairs gave cause for hesitation to many friends," he continues. "They can never get to know the solidarity of other comrades in their own country and abroad, because their 'case' remains unmentioned."

"And it makes the desperate question, 'Is there any purpose in it?' much more difficult to answer than in some other countries, where each refusal means a warning cry to the whole population."

An editorial comment points out that "no sincere and heroic act is without value," although in the War Resisters' International "we cannot ask any comrade to take upon himself such suffering."

"We make no criticism if he decides to leave the country. But we honour those who stay and face the terror. **How many there are in prison and concentration camp we do not know, but they are many.**"

WEEK FOR WOMEN

International Women's Week commences in Budapest on Thursday next, with mutual understanding among women as a step toward world peace as its object.

Youth and Age

AMONG the Investors in the St. Pancras Building Society range persons in various stages of life, the youngest it is known has not yet reached his first birthday, while others have the experience of nearly three score years and ten.

This fact goes to prove no better investment is available to persons of all ages than the £10 Preference Shares of this Society which bear interest at 4% p.a. free of income tax. The period of investment at this rate is now being limited, so write early for a prospectus to the Secretary.

★

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY
3 WIGMORE PLACE, W.1

Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By MAX PLOWMAN

96 Regent Street, W.1

WHO are the persons with whom we find it most difficult to get on? Old friends with whom we have quarrelled. We have probably patched up some kind of forgive and forget compact because we both want to avoid unpleasantness; but let any strain occur and immediately the past is remembered, the present is seen in its light, and what would otherwise be a trifle is seen as treachery. It so appears because it comes reinforced by a legion of memories. The merest accident finds out our tender spots.

The tenderness of unhealed wounds is proverbial. The misery of experience lies in the wounds it deals which, for one reason or another, decline to heal: the old injuries rankle. Crabbed age is crabbed because it has shrunk, kept its wounds, and lost the resilience which belongs to the healing power of nature. Experience—sad or happy—that does not enrich, impoverishes, and many a shrewd person, in business, in the professions, in politics, who prides himself on his ability to avoid personal damage such as he once suffered, is little more than the withered stalk of his lusty, healthful self. When at last discretion has eaten up all our valour, a man may look wise in the eyes of the world, but he is mere sounding brass, an object for pillage, "inly only thrilling shrewd," as Meredith puts it. Poets are the people who never learn the worldly wisdom of dodging experience. Old age is the most beautiful thing in the world when it shows how the spirit can expand though flesh and blood wither; but when age fails of this and is signalized by a self-protective intelligence watching over its own tender scars, is there any wonder youth and life shrink from it?

Nations are men writ large. We went through the motions of patching up our differences with Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, and since then relations of a mean and mouldy sort have been resumed. But years before the Armistice the war had gone on too long. It had shifted its base from honour to teeth-gritting pride. It had dragged on to become war of the most ghastly sort—war of exhaustion. So that, in the end, honour was nowhere vindicated, and both parties went back to their tents with wounded pride, nursing grievances. The common English sentiment was—and still is: "Let Germany stew in her own juice." Unfortunately, that is just what Germany has been obliged to do. I think she endured the War itself without utter blackness of heart; but she could not stand the Peace. Now every strain between us revives past memories. So the ghost of mistrust unlaidd begins to make nightmare. What is the way out?

"You must love the light so well
That no darkness shall seem fell,
Love it so you could accost
Fellowly a livid ghost."

Now is the time to resurrect the spirit of magnanimity General Smuts appealed for—the sense of fair-play that died so hard a death in the middle of the War. Now is the time to show, with gestures of trust and generosity, the valour of good will, in place of the discretion of fear, and confidence only in arms unlimited.

The Notice Board

Birmingham wants more P.N. sellers each Friday, one hour or more between 4.30 and 9.30 p.m. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 3 Innage Road, Northfield, Birmingham.

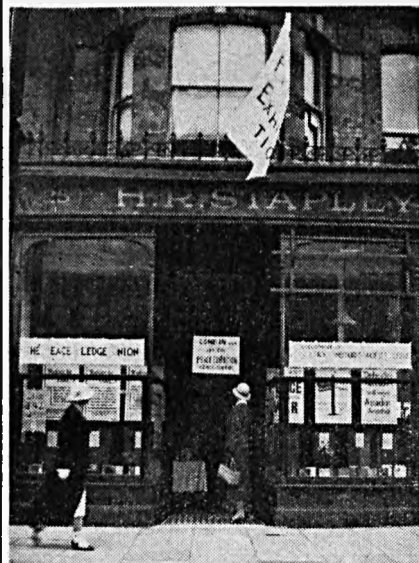
Chingford group, which is linking up with other groups for rambles in Essex (particularly short rambles in Epping Forest) hopes to arrange a number of such fixtures, to which publicity may be given through PEACE NEWS, in order that friends from other groups may, without prearrangement, be enabled to join in—simply reporting to leader on arrival to facilitate provision of refreshments. Readers' comments and suggestions invited by G. C. Palmer, 96 Regent Street, W.1.

Pacifist in Municipal Election

MR. S. BUSHELL, treasurer of the local Peace Pledge Union group, will be one of the four Labour candidates at the November municipal election at Faversham, Kent.

Mr. Bushell is an employee of Faversham and Thanet Cooperative Society and his frequent letters in the local Press have made him known to many people.

Wilfred Wellock was the speaker at a recent open-air meeting organized by the Preston area group. An audience of about three hundred listened to him



Peace shops are becoming quite popular as a means of propaganda. This one "sells pacifism" in Bexhill-on-Sea.

for two hours and after the meeting closed the crowd was still anxious to remain chatting over the many points he had made.

A separate group ("chipped off" from Preston) has been set up at Leyland and meets in St. Ambrose's Parish Room at 8 p.m. every second Wednesday (the last meeting was held on Wednesday evening).

Today and from Monday to Saturday next week the biggest of the military displays will be held at Tidworth, and it is hoped to have numbers of P.P.U. members there to administer the "anti-dote." Details regarding a coach (or coaches) which will take members to Tidworth from Regent Street next Saturday afternoon may be obtained from Nigel Spottiswoode at 96 Regent Street, W.1.

See Late News, page 11.

UNDER THE OAK TREE

By DOROTHY PLOWMAN

Impressions of Saturday, July 24

A LONG grey motor-coach with a sunshine roof, looking like some well-upholstered dinosaur, drawn up outside "96": Mr. Palmer doing wonders with a crateful of crockery, a pail of water, and two cartons of milk, while 34 people, including the General Secretary of the P.P.U., members of the Women's Committee, and nearly all the staff insinuate themselves into the dinosaur's comfortable interior.

Lunch under a haystack near High Ongar, in the double enjoyment of quietly-sloping Essex fields taking on harvest tones, and tea served as in Regent Street.

Disembarkation under the oak tree. Tall, black-eyed girl at door of Adelphi Centre handing programmes with a shy smile. Procession to sign visitors' book: parties conducted over house: children popping in and out of rooms everywhere, like rabbits from burrows, in a conspiratorial atmosphere of "dressing-up" and suppressed excitement. Guests in wide semi-circle on lawn watching 24 boys of all sizes doing Swedish drill. Drill instructor (who has no Spanish) calls attention with a soft hand-clap and exercises with them. (Smallest boy, end of front row, loses brace-button under strain; carries on with fine self-control.) Master explains afterwards that drill classes are new, hence the simplicity of work shown. . . . "But I wish you could see their running and jumping. . . . Their movement's lovely. They've all got the real, athletic play of limb. Only it's too ragged and uneven for show yet." A sportsman voicing his pride in sportsmen.

The gramophone strikes up and 12 little girls in pale pinks and pale blues dance through the rose pergola. Twelve big ones join them. The costumes are wonderful: flowered muslin with ribbon tiers and paniers, black or red bodices and hair ribbons. The sewing-machine in the common-room has been humming from 6 a.m. till past midnight these last few days, and the result is a ballet costumed (out of old cotton frocks and "remnant" gifts) with real style and elegance. The dance, arranged to Mendelssohn's "Spring Song" by one of the elder girls, has a formal dignity that is very touching. Small boys and girls sing nursery rhymes, and big and little together act some of their native singing-games with immense grace and spirit. Tea for the guests (the children have their last meal later) with lilliput sandwiches in fascinating variety and elegant cakes; and then a concert in the hall by the full choir of boys and girls. Lively, expressive singing, full of rhythm and atmosphere. One song, about the shepherds on the hills ("our signature tune," Mr. Stirling called it) was called for again. . . . Children driven from their hillside homes: shepherds guarding flocks: "Feed my lambs . . .": "Except ye become . . ."

Can irony go further?

But they sang (and in English: "Early one morning" and "The Skye Boat-song") and two girls danced a beautiful gay dance with castanets. And at the end of it all one of them presented Canon Sheppard with a wool mat they had made themselves inscribed "P.P.U." This is the final

GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

DURING Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of last week I had to spend a great deal of time in trains travelling between London, Hull, Carlisle, and Newcastle. Altogether I spent sixteen hours in them and about two hours on platforms, during which time I was able to hear and see a good deal. To generalize—I think it is true to say that:—porters and guards are more pacifist than engine drivers; that ticket collectors, though cynical, have a great knowledge of human nature and would, if converted, make splendid group leaders; that the traveller has the greatest opportunity to talk to his neighbour and that "commercial" are some of our best supporters; that nearly everyone I spoke to had an intelligent question to ask about the P.P.U. and insisted on getting down to "brass tacks." But more important than these observations is the fact that Hull is shortly to open a Peace Centre with bookshop and rooms attached; that Carlisle is rich in pacifists of the right kind and has dynamic energy, and that Newcastle is going to have a P.P.U. group at last! I wish it was possible for me to visit every group in the country. It does me good to experience such fellowship and helps me to visualize particular difficulties.

Since the Sidcup group was formed some months ago they have developed the characteristics of their parent, Bexleyheath, and the latest report covering recent activities and foreshadowing the winter occupies three pages of closely typed print. Among the activities to be inaugurated are:—the personal canvass of every signatory by August 31; the setting up of a financial system whereby every member will be asked to contribute 1d. a week minimum; the holding of public meetings for six months at the rate of one a month; the formation of a peace club with a suitable room or hall for discussion and "general contact"; the distribution over the whole area of leaflets so that every house receives one, this to be accompanied by a procession of motors with posters, and finally a social programme by which fresh funds will be raised.

I expect most people saw the notice in PEACE NEWS of two or three weeks ago asking for those connected with the Scouts to get in touch with us? I have had long discussions with various people about the whole position of the Scout Movement in relation to air raid "precautions" and I am anxious to hear from individual Scouts as soon as possible, so please write.

Next week will be the last time I shall be writing these notes until the first week in September as I am going on holiday as soon as I get back from camp. Will all group leaders please note that any letters they wish to send to me about group matters should be left as far as possible until I return. Immediate matters will be dealt with from the office.

impression I carry away with me: Basque children singing their shepherd song to Dick Sheppard and making him an offering of their own handiwork—the P.P.U. linked for better, for worse, with the suffering and the song of children.

ES

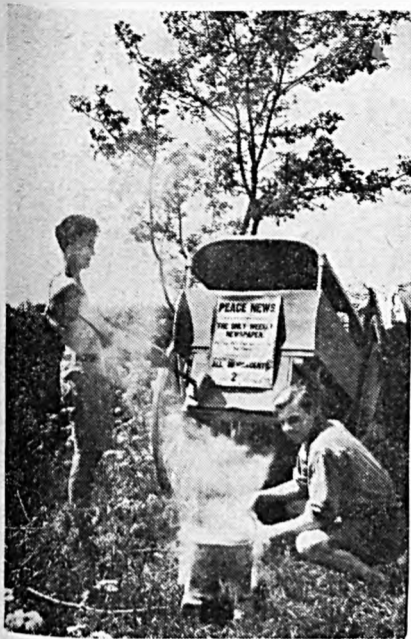
ay, and
had to
n trains
ull, Car-
gether 1
d about
g which
e a good
it is true
ards are
ers; that
al, have
n nature
e splen-
traveller
o talk to
nercials"
ers; that
d an in-
out the
down to
nportant
fact that
e Centre
attached;
ts of the
energy,
o have a
h it was
group in
d to ex-
helps me
ies.

s formed
veloped
parent,
it report
nd fore-
ies three
Among
d are:—
signatory
up of a
ry mem-
ate 1d. a
of public
e rate of
f a peace
hall for
act"; the
area of
receives
by a pro-
ters, and
by which

he notice
or three
connected
uch with
ions with
ole posi-
n relation
nd I am
al Scouts
e write.

st time I
am going
ack from
ers please
h to send
should be
I return.
lealt with

with me:
shepherd
making
n handi-
better, for
the song



Here are the two Peace Pledge Union members who, as reported on July 10, are "spreading the gospel" among the Yorkshire villages, having a roadside meal en route to Hornsea.

Their market-place stall at Bridlington was banned a short while ago, but as they were about to leave the district for Swanwick this caused them little perturbation!

You Will Want It!

THE eagerly awaited *Encyclopaedia of Pacifism*, edited by Aldous Huxley, is now obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

In it are packed many valuable articles on varied subjects connected with pacifism, and, as Miss Ruth Fry has written, "if every encyclopaedia were as readable as this they would not stay unused on our shelves."

Every pacifist will want a copy of this mine of information, which costs but sixpence, and is published by Chatto and Windus.

Church Conference Challenge to Economic Order

A report on the economic order of society, whose general tendency was to criticize drastically, if not altogether to condemn, the existing economic order, was "recommended to the serious and favourable consideration of the churches" at the Conference on Church, Community, and State at Oxford last week.

The report refrained from proposing any concrete alternative system, but said that the Church should

1. "Rebuke the national egotism which suppresses or oppresses other peoples or minorities . . . and which finds in one's own nation a final revelation of God;"

2. "Preach the positive doctrine that the existence of different races is full of possibilities for the enrichment of human life;" and

3. "Re-establish intimate contact with the common life of men."

CONFERENCE CONDEMNS WAR

Two subsequent sessions of the conference were spent in discussing a report (which was adopted) on "The Church and War," which declared that no justification of war must be allowed to conceal or minimize the fact that it was "a demonstration of sin in this world, and a defiance of the righteousness of God as revealed in Christ."

The report set out the three main

"TELL YOUR M.P.!"

—George Lansbury

From Our Own Correspondent

IN one of his first speeches after his visit to Signor Mussolini, Mr. George Lansbury urged the 1,700 people present at a meeting in High Wycombe last week to bombard their M.P. with demands for a world economic conference at once.

Mr. Lansbury stressed the fact that the peoples of Europe desperately needed peace. As a plain man he was amazed at the fact that all statesmen said another war would end civilization as we knew it, yet they continued in a mad armaments race that could only end in war.

The meeting was in the nature of a finale to High Wycombe's peace week, and on the previous evening a large crowd watched a procession in which the Cooperative Women's Guild, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Peace Pledge Union, Salvation Army band, and trade union branches took part, and which was followed by an open-air meeting.

Among other activities was the presentation of *The Man Who Came Back*, a play portraying the misery of unemployment in the home of a shell-shocked soldier.

Reading's Peace Shop Arouses Interest

From Our Own Correspondent

A peace shop has been successfully carried on for six weeks by the Reading group of the Peace Pledge Union, although it would have been still better if the period could have been longer as the shop seemed to fulfil a real need.

There was a steady average of window-gazers at the rate of three per minute, and as there was a good deal of reading matter in the window, some seeds of pacifism may have been sown this way. The shop also proved to be a valuable centre for members, and it has definitely helped to draw the group together and make it feel more of a working unit.

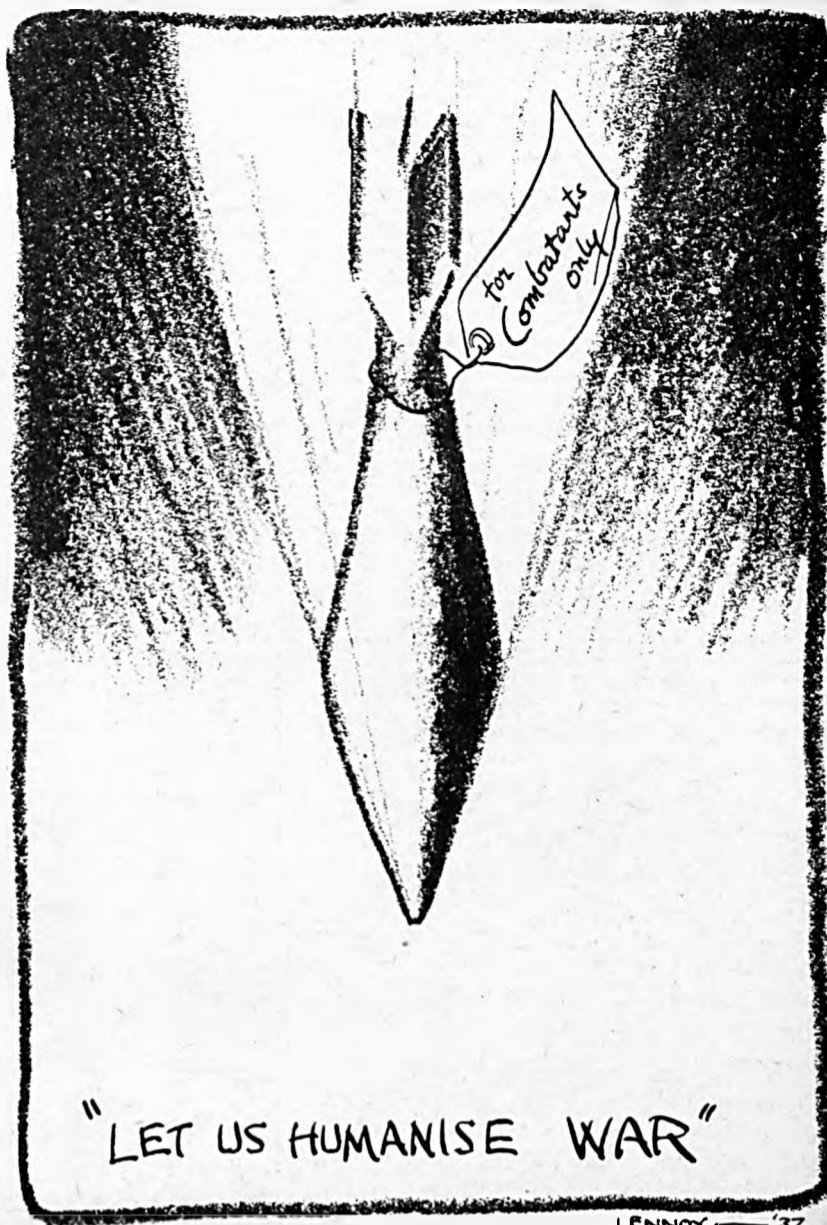
It was possible to organize a demonstration from the shop against the display of air raid "precautions" methods. This provoked a visit from the A.R.P. officer, who expressed a wish to have a debate on the question, which, it is hoped, will materialize in the autumn.

The value of the shop as a centre for members has led to the establishment of a small Peace Centre to continue the lending library and sale of some pamphlets throughout the winter.

Various shops were surprisingly helpful and one newsagent put the peace shop leaflet in the newspapers he delivered. Fascists, communists, and militarists all went in to see what the pamphlets were about, and one fascist went so far as to declare, after reading a few pages of *The Power of Non-violence*, that "this is fascism he is talking!"

positions sincerely held with regard to the subject, admitting their incompatibility.

The need for revision in the structure of the League of Nations was recognized, and it was pointed out that "there are characteristically Christian ways of peace-making which the Church has yet to explore."



Methodists Discuss Pacifism

DIVERGENT VIEWS
RECOGNIZED

"THE Church and Peace" was one of the subjects discussed at the final day of the representative session of the Methodist Conference at Bradford last week.

Considered statements by two sections of a committee, one section adopting the pacifist position and one not accepting that position, were before the conference, and the committee recommended that both statements should be referred to the thoughtful consideration of Methodist people "as an aid to judgment on the grave personal issue involved."

Dr. Wilbert F. Howard said this recommendation had been made so as to avoid having to pass a majority judgment on an insoluble difficulty.

An amendment proposed support for the pacifist statement, but this was later withdrawn, the conference favouring the committee's recommendation.

An Experiment in Economics

An Order of friends, the experiment in subsistence production which started as an attempt to deal with the problems created by unemployment, has just published its annual report for 1936, which proved to be "the completion of the first stage and the commencement of a new period of development."

"It is the belief of those responsible for the starting of the subsistence production experiments in this country," says the report, "that the conventional proposals for the special areas . . . can never touch the root of the problem, largely because those who propose them have little first-hand knowledge of the conditions they seek to alleviate

Doctors Told Gas Masks Will Work

THEN DISCUSS ROOT OF PROBLEM

A DENIAL of "certain assertions" that some "smokes" would penetrate the type of respirator intended for civilian use "in sufficient quantity to force the wearer to remove the respirator" was contained in a Home Office letter read by Sir Ewen Maclean, chairman of the Science Committee, at the annual representative meeting of the British Medical Association at Belfast recently.

"The respirator has been tested with concentrations of poison gas which could not under practical circumstances be reproduced in time of war," added the letter.

WAR PSYCHOLOGY

"War is the criminal insanity of humanity, and if our profession has to do with mental disorder, and if psychology comes within the province of our profession, then we shall have to deal with the psychology of war," said Mr. H. Caiger, of Sheffield, at a subsequent session.

The Netherlands Medical Association had been dealing with the problem for six years, he continued, and it appealed to them to help. The Netherlands Association felt that if they would do so other associations would certainly follow, and the result would be a strong international movement.

and still less appreciation of the circumstances that have gone before, which their pet schemes may only recreate in more virulent form."

The report is published by An Order of friends, Deristone, Chapel Road, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire.

Peace News

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:

59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11

Tel: Enterprise 1888

Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 2s. 8½d. Yearly: 10s. 2d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

July 31, 1937.

VULTURES IN SPAIN

THERE is only one legitimate way of looking at the war in Spain and that is from the standpoint of the Spanish people; yet every day the horror of the war is increased by the sinister presentation of the conflict from some other aspect. Catholics present us with their picture of the holy war for religion. Communists state their case in terms of the universal Fascist menace. There is the atrocity standpoint—which only labels those who take it. There is the standpoint of German interest in raw materials—of Italy's place in the Mediterranean—of Britain's Imperial interests and the freedom of the Straits of Gibraltar. Most prominently of all, there are the warring financial interests that hang like vultures over the country waiting for the corpse. Every kind of standpoint is regarded as legitimate except that of the Spanish people, which is trampled on and treated with contumely.

As pacifists we know that neither by the intervention of Fascist powers, nor by the attempt to bring Spain into line with Russia, will peace ever return to Spain. So long as Fascism and Communism are allowed to range themselves—the one as the guardian of order and the other as the trustee of liberty—the fight will go on and both order and liberty will be exiled from Spain, as they are symbolically exiled in the person of Signor Madariaga, who has so powerfully appealed to his own countrymen to save themselves from the twin terrors.

Both Fascism and Communism are lurid exaggerations of the actual differences that must be bridged by mutual toleration if the evolution of Spanish democracy is ever to be resumed. These exaggerations of differences, real enough in themselves, have been permitted to falsify the true causes of the war. Tendencies to the Right and Left have been exploited by people whose interests lay in widening the breach; and into the breach thus widened the unhappy people have been thrown in a manner hitherto unknown to history.

The frantic people of Right and Left must not be permitted to draw the rest of Europe into this hideous vortex. The baseness of the pretence that this is a war of religion, together with the baseness of the pretence that Spain is craving for a Communist dictatorship, ought to be recognizable by every realistic mind. Therefore it becomes the duty of this country, among others, to explore the possibilities of mutual agreement between the real (*i.e.*, the Spanish) combatants on the basis of their actual economic and political needs.

What are wanted for this job are clean hands and a pure heart. Since (without prejudice to any particular statesman) these are the rarest attributes of foreign secretaries in general, we suggest the setting up of a court of arbitration at the instigation and upon the nomination of the Spanish people themselves. Let the contending parties agree to name men of world-renowned juridical fame to judge the case, and on the strength of the repute of these persons, let the two sides agree beforehand to accept judgment. Men of high standing who could be trusted to judge and advise without regard to thieving "interests" are those best qualified to compose this court. Often enough the best conciliator is a comparative outsider. Woodrow Wilson was the one man who brought peace to Europe in 1918. Let such a court as we have proposed be called upon by the Spanish people to try their case and bring peace to Spain. As Mr. Eden, echoing a pacifist truism, said the other day: "War settles nothing." To wait for war in Spain to settle anything is madness.

WHITHER THE LABOUR PARTY?

THE decision of the Parliamentary Labour Party to abstain from voting upon the Army, Navy, and Air Force Estimates presents the Labour Movement with a major problem. It also challenges the loyalty of thousands of people who have believed, and still want to believe, in the Labour Party. For the Labour Party has always claimed to be a peace party.

It is our duty to examine that claim. The war drift of the Labour Party dates from the Stockport Conference in 1934. Then, for the first time, Labour committed itself, in certain circumstances, to participate in "a League war" to defend the Collective System. Prior to 1934 the party had again and again declared its intention "to take no part in war," and if need be to support this with a down-tools policy.

In the two-year interim between Southport and Edinburgh a further deterioration of the party's peace policy was shown by a resolution declaring that "the armed strength of the countries loyal to the League of Nations must be conditioned by the armed strength of the potential aggressors." That resolution harked back to the Balance of Power policy of pre-War days by making the armed defence of the Imperialist Powers (camouflaged as defence of the League) balance the armed aggression of the dissatisfied Powers. The resolution met with strong opposition, which was scarcely affected by Mr. Attlee's assurance that as long as the National Government failed to carry out a League policy its armaments programme would be resisted by the Labour Party.

What the new decision means, therefore, is that the out-and-outers have triumphed and that adequate preparation must be made for the expected war between "League" and Fascist Powers.

It must be admitted that there is little difference between the Labour Party's old and new attitude. If huge armaments are necessary for a war with Fascism, why not let your political opponents provide them? Moreover, a "peace" party must be in a sorry plight when it demands that armaments shall be low when its opponents are in power, and high when it comes into power itself. For some inexplicable reason the Labour Party fails to see that directly it joins with the League Powers in declaring war on the Fascists, it will be confronted with a revolt of the Right at home,

The Punishment of a Nation

By Dr. A. LAUR

THE recent shelling of the forts of a Spanish city by the German fleet in reprisal for the dropping of bombs on the Deutschland was strictly according to precedent and usage in the past. Incidentally a few harmless citizens, who could not be in any way held responsible for the bombing, were killed.

This incident shocked many people quite naturally but has not received much criticism because it is the avowed policy of the League of Nations towards an "aggressor" nation. It was an example on the small scale of what the League proposes to do on the big scale, and therefore opens the whole question of what is meant by national responsibility, and what justification there is for killing the inhabitants of a given territory because their Government has committed an Act of War against the decision of the League.

The plan outlined in Article sixteen of the Covenant for the League acting through its members visiting with war a nation which has been declared an "aggressor" raises some very interesting questions as to what is a nation. The action of the League is supposed to find an exact analogy in the arrest of a criminal by a policeman. The individual criminal is tried and if found guilty is punished. If a murderer he is hanged.

We may extend this principle a little further. If we have a band of robbers, associated together for robbery and murder, we can hold them all equally guilty, though in practice they would be tried on a special charge and probably only those hanged who could be found guilty of actual murder. In the old days a pirate crew were regarded as equally guilty and ended their lives at Execution Dock. In the same way a group of people found guilty of conspiring against the State will be punished, and the holding of a special religious dogma has been held to justify wholesale massacre, but only of those holding the erroneous doctrine. In the

starting—as in 1914—with the fighting services, and that in the consequent holocaust everything Labour now professes to stand for, including democracy, will be destroyed.

By taking this crooked path, Labour has lost what peace leadership it ever had, and, incidentally, its soul. Instead of championing peace, challenging new aggression by offering conciliation over past aggression, and thus removing the occasion of war, it has fallen back on methods condemned by the last War, after which the Labour Party also said "NEVER AGAIN."

This is a deplorable situation. Its gravity calls upon us to face the cold facts and the duty they impose. The public wants to know the road to peace. It is the duty of the P.P.U., as the biggest peace organization in the country, to indicate that road clearly and unmistakably. Now, more than ever, it must take the lead in showing a disillusioned and bewildered public that peace is not to be attained by armaments, the maintenance of the *status quo*, and the wholesale slaughter of men, women, and children, but through the righting of wrongs, the removal of injustice, the exaltation of righteousness and the maintenance of those human values upon which alone an enduring civilization can stand.

nt of nation by the League

y Dr. A. LAURIE

massacre of St. Bartholomew some Roman Catholics were probably killed by mistake, but as each individual killed was a professing Protestant he was individually guilty and deserving of death according to the ideas of the time.

Punishment therefore has always been meted out to the individual because of his individual responsibility. The new doctrine for which the League of Nations is responsible is that a whole nation can be held guilty if the Government of that nation has engaged in war against the orders of the League, and that guilt deserving death applies to every man, woman, and child in that nation. This is a justification of indiscriminate massacre.

In former days war had certain rules and was only conducted against men in uniform. The soldiers fought the soldiers, thus putting some restraint on the conditions of killing. With the introduction of the bombing plane that principle has now been abandoned, and in the next war citizens far from any point of impact between the armies will be bombed from the air—this barbarous enlargement of war having been made with the assent of all Governments, including our own.

This enlargement of war, while making the new theory of culpability held by the League even more indefensible, does not affect the main line of my argument.

Let us then ask ourselves whether the individual members of a nation are individually responsible for the Government of the nation making war and are therefore rightly condemned by the League to death. Even in democratic countries, the entering into treaties which may end in war, and the declaration of war, is entirely the responsibility of the Cabinet and is decided in secret council. The announcement of the declaration of war is made to Parliament; but from the moment war has been declared, to oppose the war is regarded as unpatriotic and the mass of the people are never consulted. The men of the conscript armies are called up and must either fight or be shot, anyone opposing the war is imprisoned, and the Government control the whole machinery of publicity, by which the war is acclaimed a righteous war, and the blessing of God is given by the complacent clergy.

To return to the analogy of the policeman and the criminal; if the League could order the arrest of the Cabinet which had declared war, their action would be according to precedent, but what they proceed to do is to shoot down the helpless conscript soldier and drop bombs on the women and children. Ultimately if the League has the majority of conscript soldiers at its command, their duty will be to kill a sufficient number of the people of the nation they are attacking to compel Peace.

There is no conceivable justification of war between two nations. Most thinking people have come to that conclusion; nor is such a war carried on to decide which of two nations is in the right, but which of two nations is stronger.

The whole idea is barbarous and has no basis in reason. Yet the League makes war the corner-stone of its building and proposes in the name of Peace, Justice, and Righteousness to slaughter indiscriminately the people living in a given territory because the Government of that territory has declared war against the decision of the League.

A Weekly Commentary

By J. Middleton Murry

REPLY TO LORD DAVIES

AS I have explained before, I think it confusing to the simple man when absolute pacifists and extreme imperialist isolationists appear in company to denounce the policy of collective security. But it fills Lord Davies with indignation, and worse. In a leaflet entitled "Boom Boom—Bleat Bleat!" he quotes the letter to *The Times*, which had Mr. Lansbury and Lord Trenchard for fellow-signatories, and asks: "Are they so infatuated with their own beliefs and so blind to the dangers besetting Europe that they must use every act and stratagem to defeat the ends of justice and to divert their fellow-countrymen from the straight and narrow path?" That is the familiar voice of Good denouncing Evil. It is always an unconvincing voice to me.

Now no doubt there are many dangers besetting Europe: but it seems to me beyond any doubt whatever that the greatest danger of all is international war, no matter what the "cause." Once that begins, we may say goodbye for ever to Justice and Law and Right. To Lord Davies, and a great many other good men, anyone who is convinced of that and does not intend to forget it is "a defeatist who shirks the sacrifices which allegiance to his principles demands." That is really too naive. What are these principles for which the pacifist refuses to make sacrifice? And what is the sacrifice which he refuses to make? He refuses to take part in or sanction modern warfare. In sticking to that decision he is prepared to sacrifice himself. He refuses to sacrifice other people.

But what are the principles? The "conception of the rule of Law" between the nations, says Lord Davies. If we want the rule of Law established between the nations, then obviously we must have a court of Law—an Equity Tribunal—to decide what is just; and a Police Force—an International Police Force—to enforce its decisions. What could, indeed, be more obvious? Or what more misleading? For the simple analogy between the national society and the international "society" on which the argument is based breaks down at every point. There is, so far as I know, no nation in the entire world that is prepared to submit its "vital interests" to the decision of an international tribunal. And if the historical analogy of the establishment of law within the national societies were to be trusted, it would depend upon the conquest of the entire world by one predominant power. That, at least, is how the royal authority was established in England. And it is of such a world-peace that Herr Hitler dreams.

Lord Davies makes much play with the word "constructive." That word is becoming the shibboleth of liberal-rationalism today. He denounces the pacifist because he has no "constructive" proposals. The truth is rather that the pacifist has no "constructive" illusions. And in fact these "constructive" illusions are inordinately dangerous: for they invariably glaze over the indispensable pre-condition of their being realized. There can be no effective international—or, more accurately, super-national—authority, without a previous surrender of national sovereignty. That is the crux of the matter. Yet it is dangerously easy for the English advocate of "collective security"

to conceal this demand from himself, simply because England is not "aggressive." All that is meant by England not being aggressive is that she is satisfied with the *status quo*. But other nations are not satisfied with it. And the nations which are dissatisfied with the *status quo* will never see anything more in a scheme of collective security than an armed alliance to prevent them from altering the *status quo* in their favour.

The danger of these "collective security" dreams is then manifest. They encourage people in the contented countries to believe that peace may be had without a real sacrifice of national sovereignty, and to delude themselves with the notion that the entrance into collective pacts is a real safeguard against war. In fact, they increase the danger of war for a country like England, precisely because they encourage the illusion (to which we are particularly prone) that the other nations which nominally adhere to the idea of collective security take it more seriously than we do ourselves. We take it for granted that in any such scheme *our* Empire and *our* interests are not to be brought in question. We are to remain the sole judges of our own "vital interests"—that goes without saying: so much without saying that we forget all about it. In this condition we are singularly liable to blunder into a situation in which we regard "collective security" as some sort of reality, which can overawe the discontented nations.

All that happens is that the bluff of "collective security" is called, as it has been called again and again, until the idea is totally discredited. It was inevitable that it should be. But to imagine that the remedy for this condition is repolish the "constructive" idea of collective security is merely to plunge one's head in the sand. The League of Nations has collapsed because it was a fiction, based on ignoring the realities of power-politics. Those realities are nakedly manifest today. It is perfectly plain that there can be no super-national authority unless the nations—that is, *all* the great powers, at least—are willing to surrender their claim to be the final judges of their own vital interests. "Collective security," therefore, is either a pure delusion, and a very dangerous one, or it is a new and very misleading name for an armed alliance of one group of powers to defend the *status quo*. And what is there sacred, or what just, about the *status quo*? It was achieved by war, by the imposition of fantastic terms by the victors upon the vanquished. Why should not war be allowed to alter it again?

And the only reason why war should not be allowed to do it is that modern warfare, on the scale required, means wrecking European "civilization" altogether and degrading mankind into a condition in which all humane values are meaningless. But, says Lord Davies, the Court of Equity and the International Police Force we propose is precisely the alternative to such a war. It is nothing of the kind. Three "aggressive" powers—Germany, Italy, and Japan—believe they are entitled to as big an empire as that enjoyed by the three "pacific" powers—England, France, and Russia. They demand to be as powerful. What conceivable Court of Equity can adjudicate that claim? By what code is the claim unjust? What conceivable International Police Force can enforce the decision, if it were allowed, or enforce the peace if it were rejected? The grim fact is that between the nations as they exist today there can be no peace. It is the nations that have to be changed. If that were impossible, despair would indeed be absolute. But it is not impossible, though it is hard. And anyhow it is far better to recognize how hard it is, than to delude oneself with the idea that there is any hope at all in a reasonable "constructive" policy that builds its dangerous Utopias on the explosive foundation of unchanged nations.

Recent Publications

THE PROBLEM OF PEACEFUL CHANGE

PEACEFUL CHANGE. Edited by C. A. W. Manning. Macmillan. 5s.

Reviewed by Harrison Barrow (chairman, National Peace Council executive committee.)

THIS book is a series of eight lectures given at the London School of Economics in the spring of this year. The subjects comprise History, Territorial Sovereignty, Colonial Policy, the Psychological Aspect, the Legal Aspect, &c.

The book shows the immense change which has taken place in recent years in the study of the peace movement, revealing its complexities and difficulties and showing the immense range of study which is necessary if a solution is to be found. Comparatively, only a few years ago, the peace movement programme consisted of rather pious platitudes which ignored the enormous difficulties of the question.

Perhaps one of the most interesting features of the book, and that of a negative character, is that it says nothing about religion and apparently it is not considered that the official religious bodies in the various countries are likely to have any serious ameliorative influence on the international relationships of the world.

I suppose that it is considered that the religious side is replaced by the extremely interesting chapter on the psychological aspect by Carl Mannheim. This is rather a depressing chapter, because it shows the gullibility of mankind. The last clause, however, is encouraging and worth quoting in full:—

I am sure that if those who desire peace, instead of being vague and sentimental, would utilize a sounder and better coordinated knowledge of the psychological factors which influence human behaviour, their propaganda, their programme of social and economic reform, and their pressure upon their governments and upon world opinion would become so strong that no-one could withstand it. Evil is said to be more active than good. I see no reason why this could not be changed.

Perhaps the most hopeful side of the book is its economic programme and information, which stresses the intense importance of freer trade and the getting rid of preferential tariffs and quotas.

In the psychological chapter, it shows the effect of unemployment, which produces unrest and enables interested parties to play more easily on the emotions of the people.

The book is stated, on the cover, to be a compact introduction to a vital problem of the day and this is certainly a very correct description of its contents.

A HISTORY OF PEACEFUL CHANGES IN THE MODERN WORLD. C. R. M. F. Crutwell. Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.

Reviewed by Miss K. D. Courtney

IS it going to be possible in the world today to meet the strains and stresses of economic inequalities, of territorial injustices; in short, of all the demands for change in a dynamic world without

resorting to war? Is "Peaceful Change" possible?

This is perhaps the most crucial question for the present generation and Mr. Crutwell has made a valuable contribution to its discussion in his analysis of the changes which have been made by negotiation and not by force in the course of the last century. The number is not inconsiderable and the range of subjects dealt with remarkable—including disputes about boundaries, the cession of territory, the creation and extinction of sovereignty, changes of status, and the development of the method of plebiscite.

Mr. Crutwell sees reasons for hope that our distracted twentieth century may yet be able to operate the method of peaceful change with greater success than its calmer predecessor, inasmuch as the developments of modern warfare have made this method even more essential to its safety.

Actually the League of Nations provides the world with new and better machinery than that which existed during most of the period reviewed in his book. The Saar Plebiscite, the exchange of populations in the Near East, the settlement of the Dardanelles question, the Treaty with Egypt, and the agreement about the capitulations, all show that the machinery can be used given the will to use it.

Mr. Crutwell's record of changes effected without war even before the League machinery was established is an encouraging one. He has written a book which should be read by all those who are seeking for alternatives to war for the alteration of the status quo.

A National Religion

GERMANY'S NEW RELIGION.

Allen and Unwin. 5s.

Reviewed by J. W. Harvey

IN this little book are put together three testimonies by three professors at the South German University of Tübingen—an exposition by Wilhelm Hauer of the "German faith" movement of which he is the founder and inspirer; the second (and shorter), a statement of the Lutheran position by Professor Karl Heim, and the third a statement of the Catholic position by Professor Karl Adam.

Though the three authors write independently, their statements form a sort of symposium upon the theological side of the religious struggle of which Germany is the chief arena.

There are fine things in all the three statements, but a Protestant may none the less confess to finding most interest in the first and last. Hauer is pleading for a genuinely German faith, freed from influences which he regards as utterly alien to the true genius of Germany.

The whole conception of mediation, for instance, whether through sacred book or rite or person, is to be rejected, "not because we deny the existence of God or of the eternal powers that govern life, but because we have found from experience that it is possible to have immediate contact with those powers."

CHRISTIANITY AN "ALIEN SUPERSTITION"

This emphasis upon first-hand direct experience will strike a sympathetic chord in many readers, but they will do well to note the extraordinary vagueness with which the nature of the religious experience is invested.

In fact the new religion rests upon an attitude of agnosticism disguised as mysticism, and the whole problem of the nature of God (and therefore the good life for man) is evaded. The great need for the German is to drink deep from the source of German power and vitality, the history of the German people, if rightly interpreted in terms of "blood" and "race." Christianity is an alien superstition no longer required by the Germany of today.

Dr. Karl Adam meets effectively this charge familiar to readers of Nietzsche, that there is something servile and unheroic in the Christian gospel. "The heroic has always been woven into the texture of Christian living, and without it Christianity has never been wholly genuine."

The American editors and translators have done their work admirably and have prefaced the book with an excellent introductory account of the German Faith Movement, which they do not think can win any permanent success.

Reviews in Brief

ELEVENTH HOUR QUESTIONS. Moray Press. 3s. 6d.

In some ways this book may be one of the more permanent results of the recent successful Scottish Peace Congress, for the bringing together of the fifteen well-known Scotch contributors and the suggestion of the various questions they discuss was the outcome of the work of the Editorial Committee of the Scottish Peace Council.

As Sir Norman Angell points out in the foreword, only by subjecting our political opinions to the "scientific method" can we hope to understand the nature of human society and manage it to the end of satisfying human needs—and in particular the need of avoiding war.

Each of the authors naturally deals with the particular aspects of this problem with which he is most familiar, and one has only to mention such names as Sir John Orr, Sir Archibald Sinclair, William Gallacher, and Professor G. H. C. Magregor, to indicate the variety and authoritativeness of their contributions.

THE ARMAMENTS INDUSTRY. Women's Peace Crusade, 55 Gower Street, London, W.C.1. 6d.

The Government's reply to the report of the Royal Commission on the Manufacture of and Trade in Armaments was published in White Paper form on May 6, six months after the report of the Royal Commission had been issued. This document (Cmd.5451—price 4d.) ought to be read by everybody concerned about the arms trade problem.

It is impossible to grasp what

Do Anti-War Films Miss the Mark?

To the Editor of PEACE NEWS

I THINK it is true to say of the majority of war films that they confirm the pacifist in his views, but they do not convert the public.

I found with the film *All Quiet on the Western Front*—certainly the best "anti-war" film I have seen—that the public accepted it as a war film, not as an "anti-war" film.

For a film really to get over as anti-war it must be pure propaganda, and then it loses its appeal to the public; which dilemma suggests that we should not expect too much of films as peace propaganda.

V. C. REYNOLDS.

74 Pentre Gardens, Cardiff.

Use the Power of Your Own Press

GEORGE LANSBURY'S appeal to the world's Press to use its power for peace, published in last week's PEACE NEWS, recalls a recent example of the way in which that power is sometimes abused at present.

The case in question was an article by Cyril James in the *Daily Mirror* a few weeks ago. It was the usual stuff—so pathetically silly that it could scarcely do much harm. But little thought is needed to see through most of it and even the thoughtless would only think he was writing platitudes.

The damage of the article was done, not by his outlook, but by his—and more particularly by the sub-editor's—journalism. Right across the page was the sentence, "Too many of our young men are ready to swoon at the sight of a gun!" though the writer had not made that statement. Underneath, two pictures of soldiers with the caption, "The youth of Italy and Germany are welded into strong groups for a strong purpose."

But most sinister of all was the main title. "I am not a funk!" it shrieked, and, in a further subtle appeal to feminine sentiment, there appeared the question "Is your husband or lover like the man I attack?"

Is your wife or sweetheart the sort of woman who falls for this sort of journalism? If so, persuade her to read PEACE NEWS, since the very purpose of its establishment was to counteract the war propaganda of the popular Press.

underlies the report of the Royal Commission and the Government's reply without knowing something about the evidence laid before the Commission. Dr. Hilda Clark performed a notable service in making an analysis of the evidence, which was published in the *Peace Year Book*, 1937, and has now been reprinted by the Women's Peace Crusade in this pamphlet.

HUMANITY'S PLEA (song). Laura L. Beran. Carl Fisher, New York. 50 cents.

A song very suitable for a musical interlude at peace gatherings. It is also a song that would put rhythm in your cross-country hikes, although the tunes might have been a little more melodious.

An Open Letter to the LABOUR PARTY

TODAY you support the present "rearmament" policy of this country, demanding only that it be done in the name of "collective security based on force."

The trades unions are fully co-operating in poison gas and arms manufacture, and many Labour officials are encouraging people to take part in air raid "precautions" schemes.

Yet any intelligent person who reads widely, realizes that the more militarized this country becomes, the less chance there will be of achieving a real democracy and socialism.

The fighting forces of this country are absolute dictatorships, wherein men are trained to be more fitted for a totalitarian State than for a system of democracy.

In Austria, Poland, Germany, it was the soldiers who fought the workers and betrayed socialism in the interests of capitalists. In Spain, eighty percent of the army went on the side of Franco and fought for dictatorship.

FASCISM: HOME BRAND

Labour and trade union leaders say they reluctantly support increased arms because of the fear that Hitler or Mussolini may try to implant fascism in this country—yet there is a far greater danger of the coming of a British form of fascism based on military control.

Our freedom has already been attacked and lessened twice by the Sedition and Public Order Acts. Next, unless we resist, will come compulsory air raid drill, followed, as it was in Germany, by conscription—our young men into the killing services, our young women into the arms factories.

If Labour supports increased arms, how can it refuse the men to use them?

At the end of three years, when the arms programme is complete, there will either be war, with its wholesale destruction of the working classes of Europe, or else the worst economic slump ever experienced in this country. Unemployment to the extent of five millions is to be expected.

DANGER TO DEMOCRACY

This will give the Government the chance to declare that normal Parliamentary methods have failed and that a national leader must be called upon to deal with the national crisis.

The people, being by that time completely under the military power (including that of air raid wardens), will have lost the power of resisting, and British democracy will be destroyed.

Militarism means the end of socialism and democracy. The fight against fascism and war is one and the same fight. Our only chance to strengthen democracy and build a socialist world is to

Refuse to cooperate with the "National" Government, and resist all forms of militarism (the Government would never go to war except in the interests of capitalists);

Refuse to support the hypocritical air raid "precautions" schemes;

Demand that the £1,500,000,000 should be used for social services

"BLACK-OUT"

The Story of Southampton's
mock air raid on the
night of July 15

By R. H. WARD

WHEN, at the age of ten, we wished to indicate to our schoolfellows exactly how impossibly awful we found them, we used sorrowfully to tell them that they would be funny if they were not so tragic. Much the same applies, perhaps, to the recent air raid rehearsal at Southampton.

It is as well, in any case, not to blind ourselves to the tragic aspect of this rehearsal, however salutary it may be to keep its ridiculous aspect in sight.

My job as a sandwich-man in a demonstration over, I was walking through the city with two companions in search, appropriately enough, of sandwiches at a friend's house. It was about five minutes to midnight and the town was already almost in darkness; the traffic lights had been masked so that only a two-inch slit of light showed, and on the lamp-posts pin-points of blue light were fixed.

At about two minutes to midnight these pin-points went out. The sky was cloudy, the streets very dark; it is an eerie thing, a large city in utter darkness.

Once or twice we met other wayfarers, coming upon them with surprising suddenness, and at street corners there were occasional groups of curious spectators who spoke only in whispers and laughed constrainedly. It was odd that one should feel it impossible to laugh aloud.

We were crossing the park when a warning rocket went up only a few yards away, a flash in the darkness, a puff of white smoke above the tree-tops, a second's pause and then the explosion. The enemy, this violent sound in the darkness was saying, are approaching our shores.

Another rocket went up in a more distant part of the town, another closer. The invasion had begun. So far the funny side of things was not insistently apparent.

★

IN a house we passed, a baby, awakened by the rockets, was crying steadily; this was reasonably provocative of thought about what its elders and betters were doing. Dogs were barking, and we remembered that they, too, like the birds in the trees of the park, the insects hidden in the leaves, the trees themselves, lived and breathed and were capable of death.

What might have been the figure of death itself stood in a doorway.

instead of war preparation; and, finally,

Discourage working-class youth from joining the Services and becoming infected with the poison virus of dictatorship.

We must refuse to support any war, either civil or international: the workers can win their struggle by better methods.

SYDNEY GEORGE CONBEER.

In the darkness we did not see him until we were right upon him, a man in gas-proof clothing, bulky, black, still.

His face was hidden by a gas mask and there was resemblance in the shadows to a grinning skull.

I had been either excited or scornful until then. That figure made me afraid. It was too real, and too imminent.

Further on there were other groups of these men, with police. Further still, a car, its lights out, crept round a corner and edged its way into a parking place. A spectator who had run into another spectator on the pavement by mistake said, "Crikey, mate, I thought you was a bomb," and the cheerful voice was welcome.

Then, in a little while, the sky was filled with the white streaks of searchlights, and the streets were lit by their reflection sent back by the clouds. We wondered how much this would help enemy aircraft.

Soon the white fingers closed on a bomber and held it; but there were six searchlights concentrated on one bomber; supposing the invader sent over only 200, the other 199 would presumably have fulfilled Earl Baldwin's prophecy and "got through": unless we have at least twelve hundred searchlights in that neighbourhood.

The futility of the affair became depressing. Only a mad world could

What War Means

AT the annual general meeting of the London Library, Mr. Desmond McCarthy observed that the circulation of the library's books had considerably decreased. May not this suggest, he asked, how times of rumoured war have one curious by-product—a drop in culture?—*Manchester Guardian*.

rehearse air raids, for if we rehearse a thing we presumably intend to perform it, and only a mad nation would rehearse its own suicide and then deceive itself by calling suicide defence.

I was pointing out the logic of this to my companions when cats set up an amorous yell in a garden near us. It was a nice commentary: while man, the only animal blessed with "reason," occupied himself with the making of death, wise, irrational cats made love.

★

THE droning and drumming of aircraft above us became more insistent as we walked on through the black, alert city. I think we all three used our imaginations (for we fell silent), and I think our imaginations told us all much the same thing.

With the use of the imagination fear returned, worse danger than invading aircraft, since it is this fear in the minds of the people that sets up the human demand for protection, which in turn argues the imminence of war and brings rehearsal to reality.

It would be hard to say how much harm was done to the cause of peace on this night, when fear must have been acutely experienced by many of the town's inhabitants, suddenly awakened from sleep or watching searchlights from their windows.

For, though one might be interested, angered or ashamed by this realistic pretence of warfare, for a moment or



two at least fear made pretence a reality.

Suppose this were really happening, the mind insisted; suppose that remote droning were the droning of massed flights of bombers ready at any moment to let loose destruction; suppose one were awaiting the explosion, the flying masonry, the sudden flame, the invisible gas; suppose one walked at this moment in fear of immediate death?

Protection! I thought of the thousands of the city's inhabitants, of the scattered few fire engines, decontamination squads, air raid wardens. Protection became so farcical an idea as to bring the grim relief of laughter.

In the morning, when the lunatic nightmare was over, I heard that some of our party had come upon one of the demonstrations of the air raid "precautions" efficiency.

A house was supposedly struck, in flames, its inhabitants dying. Comfortingly, the fire engine was due, however. But the fire engine, though its driver had been told where the "bombed" house was (an unlikely piece of fore-warning kindness on the part of an invader), did not arrive. Long after the inhabitants were indubitably roasted, the fire engine was seen two streets away and crawling at snail's pace because of the darkened streets, going firmly in the opposite direction.

Do You Know—

THE PROFITS IN THE AIR?

The increased demands of the Government's aircraft programme mean more money for manufacturers.

For instance, the 1936 gross earnings figure shown in the latest accounts of the Handley Page Company—which is now almost exclusively employed on the production of new types of aircraft for the Royal Air Force—was £272,000.

This figure represents an increase of £76,000, or about forty percent, on the 1935 total. The latter in turn was £60,000 more than the 1934 total.

LEAGUE REFORM

Suggestions for the reform of the League of Nations in the light of recent experience have been canvassed in many quarters lately, and another discussion on the subject will take place at Geneva from August 16 to 20, when the Institute of International Relations will hold a conference on "The Reconstruction of the League as a Guarantee of Peace."

CHRISTIANITY & WAR

16 page Booklet **FREE**

AND POST FREE

C. HICKS

102 Cotswold Gardens, London, E.8



LETTERS to the EDITOR

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

Baptist Attitude to War

THE frequent references to the attitude of the Baptist denomination to the subject of war still continue, I notice, in the pages of PEACE NEWS.

Surely it is more than time that the misleading nature of these references was corrected, as, for instance, the references to "the Baptist Union" in Alan C. Baker's article in your issue of July 10.

He alludes to one clause of the very comprehensive report presented by what he admits was only "a special committee" appointed by that Union, but takes it as an instance of the way in which "the Christian churches are lining up against pacifism."

I consider it would be just as fair to blame Parliament for passing into law recommendations of a Royal Commission which had not even been considered by the Cabinet, much less by the House of Commons, as it is to saddle the whole Baptist denomination with the findings of a small committee which have not yet been before the Baptist Union Council and cannot be discussed in the full Assembly for nearly twelve months. When that takes place the large and enthusiastic body of opinion hostile to participation in war under any circumstances will make itself heard.

Meanwhile, pacifists themselves who have actually read the special committee's report, have expressed the opinion that it gives about as able an exposition of many aspects of the pacifist case as can be found anywhere. Meanwhile the harm seems to be done, and our denomination seems to be labelled pro-war in many quarters.

Mr. Alan Baker does not mention on the other hand the several Christian denominations which have adopted the anti-war position in their official pronouncements, to say nothing of inter-denominational bodies which have passed full-blooded and positive pacifist resolutions (e.g., the National Sunday School Union and the Christian Endeavour Union of Great Britain and Ireland, representing much of the active young life of all the churches).

R. W. LITTLE.

"Ingleside,"
138 East Dulwich Grove,
London, S.E.22.

TWISTING THE BIBLE

To the Christian, one of the most regrettable things about Nazi Germany is the tendency to interfere with the New Testament so that its teachings are made to square with what the leaders consider to be the true German culture.

It is with profound regret, therefore, that one has to record an instance of this practice in our own country. Millions of listeners to the news bulletin given by the B.B.C. recently were treated to the following report of an address given by Mr. Lloyd George at a religious service that day:—

Mr. Lloyd George said that he preferred the modern version of the saying "Peace on earth and good will toward men," which ran, "Peace on earth to men of good will."

Here we have a nation-wide announcement by one of the most well-known men of our times, airing his own views on peace and war and then twisting the Scriptures to lend him support! What is this, in principle if not in degree, but the same practice which we condemn in modern Germany?

Mr. Lloyd George went on to infer that the text interpreted in that way

THE NEXT GENERATION OF PACIFISTS

IN company with many teachers and peace workers, I have read with deep interest the article in PEACE NEWS, July 17, "Ensuing It."

There are some good points in a number of the suggestions put forward, but it is most amazing that anyone in the peace movement, especially a pacifist teacher, should deliberately encourage the training of young people in the use of catapults, bows, and guns to spread death and destruction amongst birds, rabbits, and other creatures.

Such teaching is the very negation of true principles of peace, good will, and right relationship. Many teachers, and people outside the profession, are of the opinion that warfare and cruelty persist today because of the disregard by human beings concerning the rights of weaker creatures, in addition, of course, to the financial and economic evils.

I quite agree with the writer in stating that young people need more adventure and thrill, and that we ought to provide outlets for this inherent desire.

It is a real pleasure to note that thousands of teachers throughout Great Britain do not attempt to teach history in the crude ways suggested by the writer. There are other and better ways of inculcating right knowledge of history and developing character, comradeship, progressive ideals and good will.

Catapults and guns, shooting at birds and rabbits, are not encouraged in the wide circle of teachers with whom I am constantly in touch.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.
Secretary and Lecturer, Humane Education Society; Chairman, Teacher's Peace Society.

80 Mosley Street,
Manchester, 2.

Surely Grace Hawkins misses the point of Lord Ponsonby's argument. Influencing a child in the way of peace has nothing to do with refusing to allow the child to play with toy soldiers. Any intelligent child quite naturally wants the thing that is forbidden.

My own boys were in the infant stage during the War years, and they had no toy soldiers; but they soon evolved a war game of their own. They purchased sweets, divided them into the "good" and the "bad," and ate the bad after a sanguinary battle. No, I did not interfere, and I am proud to say that they are both members of the Peace Pledge Union.

My brother, also a pacifist, tells me that he would have been very angry had he been robbed of his toy soldiers; while my daughter tells me that she and her friend had "wars" with the farmyard animals that replaced tin soldiers after the last war. Ought I to have destroyed the farmyard animals?

MARGERY SOUTH.

5 Apsley Crescent,
Mannington,
Bradford.

implied "no peace to the oppressors," and on that ground apparently justified war as a method of dealing with aggression. Surely with his experience he knows that modern war means blowing to bits men and women of good will, bad will, and no will at all?

S. C. W. GILL.

55 Pembury Avenue,
Worcester Park, Surrey.

I WAS amazed to see in the article entitled "Ensuing It" the statement that boys should be encouraged to shoot with a catapult, bow, and gun, this being based on the belief that the hunting instinct, if not satisfied, will lead to the desire to "pot at" a human being.

Talking over this viewpoint with a teacher friend of many years' experience, I found that her opinion on it was the same as my own, namely, that if a child is encouraged to shoot at animals his desire to take human life will be strengthened, not decreased.

Surely the better way, and one which will fully satisfy the child's love of adventure and constructive activity, would be to teach him to observe the habits of wild creatures in their natural haunts, thus fostering in him a reverence for all life, which will be carried in later years into the kingdom of men as well as of animals. Once a child's interest in living creatures has been roused it seems to me that the desire to kill will go, its place being taken by the intense desire to know and to understand that mystery which is life, whether of the animal or human kingdom.

VERA E. CRIPPS.

Valeska,
Gringer Hill,
Maidenhead.

I think the writer of the article "Ensuing It," in your issue of July 17, gravely errs in asserting that boys, unlike girls, are naturally bellicose. As J. S. Mill maintained, the differences in the characters of the sexes are due not to nature but to their different upbringing. If boys were brought up to believe, as girls are, that they will be respected and liked if they are gentle and kind, instead of despised as "soft," they would be more bellicose than girls, and there would be no need to adopt the strange device of encouraging them to be cruel to birds and rabbits in the hope of thereby making them more charitable to human beings.

R. G. CHILDS.

2 Achmar Road,
Parson's Green,
Fulham, London, S.W.6.

(We hope to publish next week a further selection from the large number of letters we have received on this subject.—Ed.)

KEEPING THE PEACE— & POSSESSIONS

I have been reading the parable of the Better Samaritan in PEACE NEWS. Your author brought his rich man safely to Jericho; but ought he not now to re-write the piece about the camel and the needle's eye, so as to bring him safely into the kingdom of Heaven?

So many of us want a world where we can have peace without losing our possessions that we should like to believe in this parable but for that awkward saying about the camel.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

53 Cleveland Square,
London, W.2.

Please Order Your
PEACE NEWS
EARLY

Christianity & the Modern State

MIDDLETON MURRY says that to go to church while the Church of England is as it is to "connive at self-deception"; Susan Miles protests that there are individual church people as well as scattered congregations who take their responsibilities seriously with regard to peace and war and the conditions underlying war: neither of them makes mention of the fact that there is a fellowship (within the Church of England) which includes as members communicants (Anglo-Catholic, Moderate, and Evangelical) who have pledged themselves "to take no part in war, but to work positively for the construction of Christian peace in the world."

If all the pacifists who are themselves (rightly) critical of the Church and at the same time church people were to set about getting together in their parishes groups of this fellowship we might before long find a very different state of things existing in the Church of England.

The Fellowship will shortly be issuing a pamphlet, *The Church Should Take the Lead*, consisting largely of quotations from the report of the Lambeth Conference of 1930 and showing how vitally concerned the Church must be not only with the rearmament issue itself but also with the causes underlying rearmament.

Readers of PEACE NEWS who want to know more of Anglican pacifism should get into touch with the Honorary Secretary of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier, Holy Cross Vicarage, 47 Argyle Square, London, W.C.1.

"SIDESMAN."

IMPLICATIONS OF THE PLEDGE

There must surely be other members of the P.P.U. and signatories of the peace pledge whose renunciation of war is based, as in my own case, neither on Christian nor on economic-religious grounds, but who, in signing the peace pledge, intended to commit themselves to what its words cover, without addition or diminution.

In practice, however, there seems to be a tendency to assume that members necessarily accept—or at any rate ought to accept—what is called the "complete pacifist position," and a signatory of the pledge who still maintains that it may be right to resist a burglar by force, to beat one's wife (or husband), or even to use force in attempting to impede or prevent war-like preparations or operations, is met with a certain degree of pained surprise.

While I have a deep respect and admiration for the "complete pacifist," I cannot but feel that this attitude is unfortunate, and may do much to lessen the influence and obstruct the work of the P.P.U. Can we not confine ourselves to propagating, as members of the P.P.U., what unites us—the abnegation of war—and pursue our other personal ideals, whatever they may be—without confusing them with our single aim as signatories of the peace pledge?

A. S. B. GLOVER.

3 Freshford House,
Old Gloucester Street,
London, W.C.1.

Reginald Sorensen, M.P.

UNDER BIG BEN



THE Matrimonial Causes Bill (formerly the Marriage Bill) has passed its final stages without a division. This may have little or no relationship to international problems (even though it deals with peace and war in the home!) and I shall not disturb readers by discussing its merits. Yet it is legitimate to state that the psychological and biological facts of life are far more relevant to the disposition and behaviour of leaders and masses than is generally realized, and, further, that the remarkable change in attitude to the question of divorce stimulates reflection both on the strength of tradition and on its steady modification.

For good or ill, that which was repudiated years ago has become acceptable today. Statesmen, ecclesiastics, physicians, lawyers, and the like support or tolerate proposals their predecessors denounced. The point is not as to who is right, but that the public opinion has changed. And if there can be so drastic a change on this issue, it is just as possible that in course of time just as striking a transformation can be effected respecting other powerful traditions.

Time, though, and experience may alter present conceptions of patriotism, natural sovereignty, defence, and government beyond prevalent anticipation, and the normal assumptions of today become outworn husks tomorrow.

Let me urge again that this is no argument for or against extended facilities for divorce (for the change in public opinion may be for the better—or worse) but simply a demonstration of the fact that the criterion of values does suffer transformations, and that therefore the folly of pacifism today may become the wisdom of the next generation.

THE Labour Party by 45 to 39 votes decided not to oppose the final Service Estimates (by "Service" is not meant service to health and well-being but preparation for death!). This represents 84 out of 159 total parliamentary membership, and, even allowing for illness and previous engagements, it is certain that many abstained from voting.

Both that fact and the narrow majority illustrate the painful perplexity that is disturbing the Labour Party. A deep conflict of impulses remains unresolved and may lead the Labour Party into a queer, paradoxical whirlpool.

In the circumstances I think the Labour Party acted honestly and consistently. It is not a pacifist party, although its principles and policy are fundamentally for peace. It believes that in certain circumstances the employment of arms is justifiable, and in view of its declarations that we are menaced by aggressive anti-democratic Powers, the logic of that is military defence against such potential enemies.

Of course it could have voted against the Estimates on the ground that it could not trust the Government to use arms for the right policy. This was the attitude of Cripps and is now that of Morrison and others, and this would have given less offence to some pacifists, for at least it is a vote against armaments and it would have prevented the facts becoming prominent

Mr. Lansbury welcomes

BELGIAN KING'S TRADE PLAN

THE recent inquiries of M. van Zeeland, Belgian Premier, into the possibilities of removing international trade barriers, have been followed up by a proposal by the King of the Belgians for the setting up of an institution of economic studies, universal, permanent, and independent, to solve "the great problems which menacingly confront humanity."

King Leopold's suggestion was made in a letter to M. van Zeeland and has been welcomed in many quarters, although it has been pointed out that there might be difficulty in persuading Governments to adopt measures necessary to increase world trade.

that Labour supports arms. Yet this, surely, would have been an evasion.

The essential truth should be registered and the implication of Labour policy made manifest. Nothing is lost and as much is gained by this clarification, and pacifism itself will be assisted by the dissolving of ambiguity. **Labour and its supporters conscientiously would defend this country against an aggressor, and its parliamentary abstention from voting against the Arms Estimates will be rightly taken as proof that it has at last moved out of the atmosphere of emotional evasion into the realm of honest decision.**

Pacifists can now assess their stupendous task, which is to convert 99 percent of the electors to their philosophy and technique! Ten—five—years ago this might have seemed easier, but it was not. It was more deceptive then, and therefore much harder. Now, facts can be faced and not dodged.

Mr. George Lansbury welcomed the proposals in a telegram to King Leopold, which ran: "All people welcome your proposals. **They know wars will cease when the nations are willing to share the world and its resources with each other.** I congratulate you. May God give you continued courage to lead mankind from darkness to light."

Poplar Peace Council and Mr. Lansbury

The action of Poplar Peace Council in adopting a resolution dissociating itself from Mr. Lansbury's recent visit to Signor Mussolini has led the Poplar group of the Peace Pledge Union to send a statement to the Press in which it affirmed its confidence in Mr. Lansbury and his policy and deprecated the peace council's move.

The peace council's resolution had declared that "a false impression is being created as to Mussolini's alleged desire for peace."

I have just been told a nice little story that may be commended to all the quarrelsome people that are in Europe.

A small boy was seen to take off his hat to a stranger, and was asked why he did so.

"Oh, he's a friend I don't know," he said.

—A letter published in the *Observer*.

PARLIAMENTARY PACIFIST GROUP

GREAT NATIONAL PACIFIST CONVENTION

CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER
LONDON, S.W.1

Saturday, September 18, 1937

2.30 p.m. to 5 p.m. and 6 p.m. to 8.30 p.m.

Chair:

RT. HON. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

Speakers:

LORD ARNOLD :: LORD PONSONBY
CANON DICK SHEPPARD

REV. HENRY CARTER, C.B.E.

Miss Rose Simpson :: Miss Mary Gamble

C. H. Wilson, M.P. H. G. McGhee, M.P. F. Messer, M.P.

Dr. A. Salter, M.P. Rev. R. Sorensen, M.P.

Dr. A. Wood and J. H. Hudson

TICKETS: DELEGATE—1s. each or 5s. for 6 Delegates from ONE Organization.

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP also welcomed. Tickets 1s.

Copy of Resolutions, Application Forms and information from:
D. J. J. OWEN, Organizing Secretary, 60a FORT ROAD,
LONDON, S.E.1.

Pars for the Platform

Spain

SO Mr. Duff Cooper thinks that the cause of the Spanish Government is one "which no man in this country outside the Labour Party thinks is worth fighting for"; he declared as much in the House of Commons last week. Anti-fascists are no doubt incensed, but pacifists know that no cause is worth fighting (i.e., murdering) for. They wonder, too, how long it will be before Mr. Duff Cooper and the Labour Party realize that a cause needing murder to uphold it is not a worthy cause anyway.

"Humanitarianism"

THE revelation referred to above was made by the First Lord of the Admiralty when dealing with a question from Mr. Wedgwood Benn which referred to ships "engaged on humanitarian enterprises" being unprotected. It was difficult, said Mr. Duff Cooper, to draw the line between humanitarianism and military assistance, and he added:

"Let Mr. Benn, who played a noble part in the Great War, remember that we did everything in our power for four and a half years to starve the women and children in Germany."

Labour and War

ALTHOUGH it is said to represent a substantial recession from its former isolationist platform, the following principles of anti-war policy formulated by the Australian Trades Union Congress are in striking contrast to our own Labour Party's latest decision:—

1. Organization of the masses against war;
2. Opposition to the rearmament policies of the British and Australian Governments;
3. Support for such a policy of collective security through the League of Nations as might be necessary in the interest of peace;
4. Democratic control of the army inside Australia, including opposition to conscription and Labour camps.

India

THE "fly in the ointment" for the Congress Party, now that it has decided to form cabinets in the Indian Provinces where it has a majority, seems likely to be the problem of finance, according to a *Manchester Guardian* report last week. Meanwhile the Congress move to induce Moslems to join in the task of government seems a further step toward the clarifying of the issue as between the inhabitants of India and the British.

(Continued in col. 4, page 12)

LATE NEWS

TIDWORTH TATTOO—July 31
and August 2—7

An urgent appeal has been made by the Peace Pledge Union for volunteers who can get to Tidworth on their own to communicate with F. E. Hales, 27 Balmoral Road, Andover, Hampshire, or W. T. Clark, 117 Millway Road, Andover.

See page 4, foot of col. 2.

If you have difficulty
in getting PEACE NEWS
send a card at once to

59 Waterfall Rd., London, N.11

Please mention

PEACE NEWS
when replying to advertisers

Peace News

July 31, 1937

FILL IN THE FORM

AT THE FOOT

OF THIS PAGE

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

1½d. per word, minimum 2s.

Box number 6d. extra

Latest Time for Copy, Tuesday Morning

THE charge for classified advertisements, commencing with next week's issue, will be increased to 1½d. per word, with a minimum of 2s.

The present rate will, however, apply to advertisements in series which have already begun.

Rates for displayed advertisements are also being increased and may be had on application to PEACE NEWS advertisement office, 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11.

APARTMENTS

STUDENTS' CUBICLES with board, 35s. week. Large, quiet garden. Table tennis.—Concord House, 23 Pembridge Villas, W.11.

CORRESPONDENCE

ADDRESSES of 200 people (mostly pacifists) in 28 countries anxious to exchange friendly correspondence.—Write, enclosing P.O. 1s. 6d., 30 Scarisbrick New Road, Southport.

DRAMATIC

ANTI-WAR PLAY: *Ungrateful Youth*. By Crosbie and Glover. Obtainable from THE BOOK REST, 26 Archers Road, Southampton. Price 1s. 3d. post free.

CAN YOU ACT? Use your talent for peace by joining the International Pax Players Association. Non-sectarian, non-political. Particulars from Mrs. E. Eunice Horner, 48 Arlington Street, London, N.1.

EDUCATIONAL

GERMAN PACIFIST, expert linguist, living in South Denmark near beautiful Flensburg Fjord, is willing to take students as boarders to learn German, Danish, Swedish, French or Italian. Very reasonable terms. Facilities for regular German and Danish conversational practice in district. For further particulars, apply War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

WE BUILD for peace—may we send a prospectus?—Felcourt School, East Grinstead.

FOR SALE

CYCLE (LADY'S). Suit any height. 25s., bargain.—Threadgold, 41 Colville Gardens, Bayswater.

HEALTH TREATMENT

MISS J. D. WALLINGTON, health practitioner, osteopath, bonesetter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods; particularly successful with nerve and digestive cases. Consultations by appointment. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1 (near Victoria Station). Victoria 0131. Residential telephone, Weald (Kent) 53.

ILLUMINATED ADDRESSES

ALBUMS, SCROLLS, &c., from 1 guinea to 100 guineas. Battley Brothers Ltd., Printers and Publishers. The Queensgate Press, Clapham Park, S.W.4.

MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, led by Rev. Alan Balding, is being held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 165 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

SITUATION

Wanted

SHORTHAND - TYPIST, young, capable, seeks post with peace organization or work of a similar nature.—Box D.37, c/o PEACE NEWS, 59 Waterfall Road, N.11.

TYPEWRITING

THE SOUTH LONDON TYPEWRITING BUREAU (Mabel L. Eyles), 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, S.E.24. Telephone Brixton 2863. Duplicating, typewriting, private shorthand lessons, speed practice, &c. Prices on application.

WHERE TO STAY

BOURNEMOUTH: AVON ROYAL Hotel, East Cliff. Hot and cold water, bedrooms, central heating. Modern, from three guineas. Write Bertram Hull for brochure. Phone 3142.

COTSWOLDS. In the "Valley of Peace." Food Reform (vegetarian) Guest House. Old world charm: log fires: house car: 2½ guineas (except August). Manager an ex-"C.O." "Fortune's Well," Sheepscombe, near Stroud, Gloucester.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS.—Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation. Increased accommodation. Central heating throughout; h. and c. water in all bedrooms. Central for conferences.—A. & K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, near Matlock. Tel.: Ambergate 44. Station, Ambergate (L.M.S.)

DOWNTON, WILTSHIRE. The Misses Philpott, Country Guest House, The Borough, Downton, Wiltshire. A roomy house on the banks of the river Avon, standing in a pleasant garden. Terms moderate.

HAMPSHIRE. Amid beautiful, unspoiled country. Young couple (P.P.U.) would welcome guests in their picturesque farm-type house. Ideal restful week-ends or holidays. London 1 hour. Also attractive thatched bungalow in garden. Very moderate. Snaps sent.—Box D.38, PEACE NEWS, 59 Waterfall Road, N.11.

LONDON. Pacifists will find congenial society, comfort, and good food at Concord House. International and strictly vegetarian. Convenient for West End parks, theatres, and stores. Partial board from 55s. week.—Mrs. F. E. Morgan, 23 Pembridge Villas, London, W.11.

Diary of the Week

July 30—Aug. 6 (Fri.—Fri.) The Hayes, SWANWICK, Derbyshire; P.P.U. Camp.

July 31 (Sat.) 3 p.m. on The Moor, MAIDENHEAD; open-air meeting; P.P.U. 7 p.m. MARLOW; open-air meeting; Maidenhead P.P.U.

Aug. 4 (Wed.) 8 p.m. Wild Court, KINGSWAY, London, W.C.2; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship. 8 p.m. Town Hall, RIPLEY; Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, Canon S. D. Morris, and others at public meeting; P.P.U.

5 (Thurs.) 8 p.m. Market Place, ROMFORD; P.P.U. and other speakers; local Peace Council.

Dying Woman Remembers Basques' Need

A wish that no flowers should be sent to her funeral, the money instead being devoted to the Basque Fund of the Peace Pledge Union, was expressed by Miss Duncan, a member of the P.P.U., as she lay dying recently.

The Basque Fund has therefore received £12 10s. from the secretary of the Muswell Hill and Hornsey group, as a result of this pacifist's thought for others, even in her last hours.

PALESTINE PARTITION: A JEWISH VIEW

"Partition in Palestine" forms the subject of an article by Dr. J. L. Magnes, President of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, in the August number of *Reconciliation* (obtainable from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1), price 3d.

Dr. Magnes discusses the report of the Royal Commission from the Jewish angle and offers a practical alternative.

Other contributors include C. F. Andrews on "The Indian Congress Decision"; W. H. Marwick, "Scandinavia Combats Fascism"; Professor Martin A. Simpson, "The Student Christian Movement Faces Rearmament"; and Professor Johannes Ude on "The Totalitarian State."

"WAR SETTLES NOTHING"

"War settles nothing. (Cheers.) Whether it results in victory or defeat the bitterness remains."—Mr. Anthony Eden in the House of Commons, July 15.

Platform Pans

(Concluded from page 11, column 4)

Economic Policy

THE need of the hour was indicated once again by Mr. Francis B. Sayre, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, at the Conference on Church, Community, and State, at Oxford last week. He said:

We in the American Government are convinced that lasting peace can never come until people constructively build for peace, and the most constructive way of building for a lasting peace is changed economic policy. Peace will never come until we have sound economic foundation. . . . I am convinced that policies of extreme economic nationalism, if unchecked, can only lead to war.

Strange that anyone should think "rearmament" a step toward peace after that!

Recruiting

THE Army League Committee (a self-appointed Conservative body) has just published a report dealing with the shortage of recruits for the army. In addition to suggestions for remedying the present state of affairs, it states:—

Public opinion must be made to realize that exemption from compulsory service in the armed forces of the Crown is a privilege that must be paid for.

Meanwhile, judging by the efforts to recruit even schoolboys, it appears that "exemption from compulsory service" will soon be only obtainable by undertaking "voluntary" service (a case of heads we win, tails you lose).

For example, a meeting at Holly Park School, Friern Barnet, last week, at which it was agreed to form a cadet battery, was informed by the chairman of the Middlesex Cadet Association that there was no compulsion in the Cadet Movement, that England was a democratic country, and so on. Later on, however, he referred to "spineless and bigoted pacifists who will turn the other cheek." He finally made sure of creating the right psychological atmosphere by declaring that:

Boys will be boys, and men, men, all the world over, and no true Englishman will stand by and see the Lion's tail twisted.

Far East

THE military situation in China seems to have worsened following an earlier easing of the tension. Japan's policy was outlined in an address to the Imperial Diet on Monday, when the Foreign Minister said:

Japanese policy in East Asia is directed solely toward the realization of the stability of East Asia through the conciliation and co-operation between Japan and Manchukuo and China, and by stopping the Communist invasion of the Orient; and added that "the anti-Comintern Agreement with Germany was now to be effectively applied."

PLEASE HAND THIS TO YOUR NEWSAGENT

To M.....
(Newsagent's name)

Please deliver PEACE NEWS to me weekly.

Name.....

Address.....

as from issue dated

Note to Newsagent.—PEACE NEWS is published weekly as a national newspaper at the retail price of 2d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers, at 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11 (Tel: Enterprise 1888).

Please send names and addresses of anyone who might be interested to receive specimen copies of PEACE NEWS to the publishing office, 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11.

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11, by "Peace News" Ltd. (registered office, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1), and printed for them by Baines & Scarsbrook Ltd. (T.U.), 75 Fairfax Road, London, N.W.6